

LABOR POWER

Official Organ of the Socialist Union Party

ONLY SOCIALISM CAN DESTROY FASCISM

VOLUME 2

MAY, 1941

NUMBER 11

SPECIAL ANTI-FASCIST ISSUE

May Day 1941 Manifesto



Who Fights Fascism?



British Imperialism Unmasks



Why Do They Fight?

Published by the Socialist Union Party,
140 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

PRICE 5 CENTS

British Imperialism Unmasks

The recent world-wide broadcast (April 27th) of the spokesman for British imperialism, Winston Churchill, contained a passing, but significant, reference to Germany as a nation "of less than 70,000,000 malignant Huns some of whom are curable and other killable," and thereby hangs a tale.

When the war first broke out the British Government made every effort to paint it in the light of a "sacred crusade" against the iniquitous Hitler regime alone and not against the German people. Such mundane considerations as markets, spheres of influence, colonies, sources of raw materials, and the other material trappings of imperialism had nothing to do with the case; perish the thought. The then Premier, Neville Chamberlain, struck the keynote of this campaign when he broadcast at the beginning of the war a direct appeal to the German people as follows:

"In this war we are not fighting you, the German people, you, for whom we have no bitter feelings, but against the tyrannous and foresworn regime which betrayed not only its own people but the whole of Western civilization and all that you and we hold dear."

Carrying out this campaign of "brotherly love," during the early months of the war the British conducted an extensive airplane leaflet distribution campaign over Germany. Great expectations were held out for this campaign. It was hoped that a wedge could be driven between the German people and the Nazi regime. But these expectations were doomed to disappointment. It soon became apparent that Hitler had a "united" nation behind him; that appeals calculated to stir up internal dissension fell only on stony ground.

Once it was obvious that their appeals to woo the German people were futile, the British proceeded to unmask.

Over a year ago Mr. Duff Cooper, a prominent Tory politician, delivered a speech in which he took off his gloves and mercilessly lambasted the German people as being just as much to blame as the Nazi regime for the war. Spoke Mr. Duff Cooper:

"This series of crimes which have made

a horror of Europe are not the crimes of one man, nor are they the crimes of a small band of criminals. They are the crimes of a whole people. On the last occasion when we defeated the Germans in the field they came grovelling and whining and protesting that the fault was not theirs but that of the princes who had fled before the storm. It might well be that when once again they are defeated they will come to us with the same tale and say it was only a small number of unrepresentative politicians who committed these crimes. I hope we shall not be deceived again."

Since Mr. Cooper was not at that time a member of the Government his speech did not have official standing and did not attract very much attention in the United States. The speech and its spirit was strongly assailed in Great Britain, but the Government maintained a discreet silence. Since then Mr. Cooper has been appointed to the important Governmental post of Minister of Information. Now, Churchill's reference to Germany as a nation of "malignant Huns," makes Cooper's remarks the accepted official policy of the Government. If there is any doubt on this score the recent address of British Ambassador Lord Halifax, a member of the Inner War Cabinet, before the Woman's National Press Club in Washington, calling for an Allied military dictatorship over the German nation after the war, should resolve all such doubts.

It can readily be understood why British Imperialism attempted so assiduously to court the German people. Any breach between the masses and the Nazi regime would have automatically reflected itself in a lessened Nazi war effort. As soon as it became evident that such a campaign of detachment was futile, a reverse campaign of hatred, a la Cooper was launched: A campaign of hatred against the German people serves a twofold purpose: Firstly, it functions to speed up the lagging war efforts of the British workers and at the same time it serves to prepare the masses for a policy of total destruction of German Imperialism and enslavement of the German people. Only by destroying German

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LABOR POWER

Published Monthly by the
SOCIALIST UNION PARTY

140 Fourth Ave.
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Subscription: — Per Year, 50c; Semi-
Annually, 25c; Single Copy, 5c.

Printed by Voluntary Labor

Vol. 2, No. 11

May, 1941

Editorials . . .

MAY DAY — 1941

May Day, 1941, finds capitalist "civilization" racing with seven-league boots toward the "new order" of fascist enslavement and social chaos. Since September, 1939, the imperialist holocaust has been consuming all of Europe. Daily this raging conflagration is extending its bloody toll of destruction to the furthest corners of the earth.

The United States and the Western Hemisphere, "the last remaining outposts of peace," have not escaped the heavy impact of imperialist carnage and fascist totalitarianism despite the physical barriers of distance and oceans. Though nominally at peace, for all practical purposes the nation is actually at war. The long and continued series of unneutral and warlike acts perpetrated by the American government continues to grow with each passing day. The country has been converted into the supply house, the arsenal and the main support of beleaguered British imperialism. All belligerent aid short of actual military and naval cooperation has been and is being furnished to Great Britain.

ARMED INTERVENTION NEXT STEP

May Day finds United States imperialism and its political agents in Washington plotting to plunge the nation into open warfare. The leading spirit of the movement is, naturally enough, President Roosevelt, whose solemn promises to the nation that under no circumstances would the American Army be used in foreign wars was one of the leading reasons

for his re-election for a third term. On a number of occasions since the election, Roosevelt has found it necessary to reaffirm this pledge of non-military involvement in the war, because, despite all the pro-war propaganda, public opinion continues to be overwhelmingly opposed to a "shooting" war.

GOADING HITLER INTO WAR

But American imperialism cannot and dare not rest content with its half-way war against Nazi imperialism. Having openly espoused the cause of the British and burned its bridges behind it, American capitalism can neither retreat nor stand still. It must go onward to full military and naval participation in the struggle. The alternative can only mean ignominious defeat and economic subjection to the will of the Nazi victors.

But while continuing to placate this opposition with soothing words, the Roosevelt administration is bending every effort and employing every device and artifice to goad Hitler into a declaration of war. Within the past month Axis shipping in American waters has been confiscated in the most high-handed manner possible; American shipyards have received crippled British naval vessels for repair; 10 Coast Guard cutters—and more recently 20 navy speed boats to fight submarines—have been turned over to the British Admiralty. Finally, Greenland has brazenly been declared to be within the sphere of American territorial interests.

The crafty Nazi dictator is well aware of the meaning of these moves. If he has failed to take drastic counteraction it is only because that would supply the missing pretext to Roosevelt to precipitate military intervention and to place the entire American economy on a totalitarian war basis which would mean additional aid to Britain. But Hitler is faced with his own dilemma: Unless he can prevent the ever-increasing supplies of war materials from America from reaching Britain, his struggle to conquer all of Europe is doomed in the long run. Just how long Hitler can continue to turn a blind eye toward America's "unofficial" war is problematical. He has announced that should American ships seek to break the Nazi blockade under convoy by the American Navy, they would be torpedoed. On the other hand, every indication points to another American attempt to defy the lightning by dispatching American convoys to Britain.

WHAT KIND OF WAR IS THIS?

What is the character of this war into which the working class of this nation is being irresistibly drawn? According to capitalism's spokesmen, it is a principled ideological struggle of "Democracy versus Fascism." A viler falsehood was never uttered!

The present conflict is a struggle between rival camps of imperialist bandits for control and domination of the colonies, source of raw materials and markets, the life blood of imperialism. The Second World War is merely a continuation of the First World War. A resurrected Germany, risen from the ashes of defeat, is challenging its erstwhile victors for world imperialist mastery. American Imperialism, having become the senior partner in the firm of United States and British Imperialism, Unlimited, has a vital stake in a British victory and Nazi defeat!

BRITAIN NURTURED NAZISM

The bestial nature of the Hitler regime and its policy of destroying all independent working class organizations and murdering or imprisoning all militant workers has filled all decent and self-respecting workers with an implacable hatred and loathing of Nazism. Playing upon this widespread genuine anti-fascist feeling, British and American imperialism seek to rally their working classes to the defense of their own selfish imperialist interests under the false banner of a struggle against fascism.

The conflict between United States-British Imperialism with Nazi Imperialism is not a quarrel with fascism, the system which chains and mercilessly exploits the working class. As a matter of fact, Allied imperialism itself is responsible for the growth and triumph of German fascism. The Versailles "peace," by which Germany was hijacked out of the colonies and territory she had previously conquered and saddled with the burden of astronomical reparations, impoverished the German capitalist class until it could no longer maintain control over the workers by "democratic" means and had to turn to Hitler to avoid complete bankruptcy and social chaos.

So successful has been this imperialist propaganda that many workers who admit cynically the selfish motives of British imperialism nevertheless insist that the main interest of labor must be the destruction of Hitler and his regime, and any means is acceptable which

promises to attain that end. These workers have permitted their emotional hatred of Hitler's regime to blind them to the basic *cause* of Hitlerism. The Nazi regime is merely an effect, a symptom — not the disease itself. Fascism is not the creation of the devil or of a madman. It is the consequence of decadent and rotting capitalism and its inability to continue functioning by democratic means. Its victory was assured because of the lack of class consciousness in the working class and the unpreparedness of the workers to take over the conduct of society.

It was Britain which nurtured German fascism, helping Hitler with finances and credits to rearm and revitalize Germany as a world power. The British ruling class had the greatest admiration for Hitler's "wonderful work" in "pacifying" Germany and in maintaining "order." Winston Churchill, the plumed knight of "democracy," who is supposedly riding out to conquer the beast of Fascism, is the same gentleman who, only two years ago, *after Munich*, told a British audience that "I have always said that if Great Britain were defeated in war, I hoped we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among the nations." *Can the workers entrust their lives and their liberties to the tender mercies of men who utter such sentiments?*

It was only when the Frankenstein monster they had created and nourished turned upon them and challenged their imperialist supremacy and their very existence that the British ruling class saw the light and suddenly discovered Hitler to be a "mad dog who must be destroyed if civilization and democracy is to be saved."

United States-British Imperialism may conquer Hitler but they dare not overthrow *Hitlerism*, because the only social order that can replace fascism is the Socialist Republic, and that would mean social revolution—THE END OF CAPITALISM! For the Allied imperialists this cure is far worse than the disease.

THE MAIN ENEMY IS HERE!

The Socialist Union Party is not, nor can we for a moment afford to be, indifferent to the menace of Hitler and his bestial fascist barbarism. FASCISM MUST BE WIPED OFF THE FACE OF THE EARTH. Moreover, the Socialist Union Party is not indifferent to the fate of America. But to us the *real* America consists of the vast majority of

the people, as contrasted to the America of the .06% of the Economic Royalists. It is not *foreign* dictatorship which is the greatest threat to that America. Our main enemy is to be found right here within our own gates. It is the system of monopoly-imperialist capitalism which is irresistibly driving this country into war and a regime of totalitarian enslavement under the yoke of native fascism.

No victory over foreign dictators can break the economic stranglehold that American capitalism holds over the people, or release the great masses of workers from the bondage of wage slavery.

ONLY SOCIALISM CAN DESTROY FASCISM

Only Socialism—the Socialist Republic—can be trusted to carry on a principled struggle against fascist dictatorship. In Great Britain, under the slogan of crushing German fascism, the working class is rapidly being ensnared in the toils of a full-blown totalitarian rule. Here in the United States the Roosevelt administration has not been far behind in laying in the groundwork for a totalitarian regime.

Peace-time conscription has been foisted upon the nation for the first time in its history. In the halls of Congress labor-baiting has become the rule rather than the exception—and so far has the trend gone that militant workers who have the hardihood to take a firm stand against unrestrained capitalist exploitation are threatened with the electric chair by responsible congressional leaders. Bills are pending in Congress and in many state legislatures to outlaw or curb strikes and to freeze wages at prevailing levels.

The well-known Wall Street publication, *Barron's Weekly*, predicts that when the war closes America may be confronted with an army of 20 million unemployed. In the face of such a situation, with the victors as well as the vanquished financially bankrupt and physically exhausted, with the working class crushed under the burdens placed upon them by the war, the need for social repression will be greater than ever before. Only a simpleton or an outright charlatan can conceive of the ruling class, at such a period of social tension, voluntarily restoring rights which it has once withdrawn. Once the workers permit their democratic rights to be taken away under the specious plea that such deprivation is necessary to carry on the struggle against fascism, they

will never regain them unless and until they overthrow the capitalist system.

We are told that these measures are merely temporary, that it is necessary to fight fire with fire, and that once the victory over Hitler is won, civil rights will be restored, bigger and better than ever before. But a victory for British and American imperialism will in no way solve the basic social contradictions of capitalism which at bottom are the real causes of the war. In fact the end of the war, the end of production of military supplies for the purpose of destruction, will merely serve to aggravate those contradictions.

Once this country openly enters the war and the economy is placed on a totalitarian basis, the movement toward "political centralism" will gain tremendous impetus. What will it profit the American working class to defeat the Hitler regime in Germany if the cost is the establishment of triumphant fascism in this country?

On this May Day of 1941 the working class of the United States is confronted with a historic alternative. Either it breaks definitely with capitalism and its system of exploitation, poverty, war and fascism to go forward and upward to Socialism, the end of class rule, the establishment of peace, abundance and security for all—or it will go backward and downward to fascist barbarism and totalitarian enslavement.

Against the frightful menace of fascism the only hope of the working class is to strike at its cause — capitalist production and class rule. By erecting a classless society in which the resources and manpower available are used to produce for the common good, the workers will abolish the poverty and insecurity which is the foundation for the greed, hatred and jealousies which rule the capitalist world.

In the true spirit of May Day, and in line with the crying need of the hour, the Socialist Union Party calls upon the American working class to give heed to its historic mission and to unite its forces for the real struggle for freedom.

UNYIELDING OPPOSITION TO IMPERIALIST WAR!

END WAR AND FASCISM BY DESTROYING CAPITALISM!

FOR LABOR UNITY ON A CLASS STRUGGLE BASIS!

ALL POWER TO THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL UNION!

Why Do They Fight?

As every passing day brings the flower of American youth nearer and nearer to the moment when they will be called upon to go forth once more to shed their blood, the question "why do they fight?" still remains unanswered. The popular slogans put out by the warmongers do not answer. "Defend democracy against fascism" or "Defend America from invasion" sound well, but so did "Make the world safe for democracy" and "The war to end war" stir the minds of the world in 1917. Yet all that the First World War accomplished was to set the stage for fascism and the Second World War. Let us be wary of beautiful but meaningless phrases.

What are the war aims of the Allies, the United States and Great Britain? We know what Hitler's aims are—to conquer economic hegemony over all of Europe for German imperialism, in order to be in a position later to break the domination of Britain and America over the markets of the world. The bestial fascist regime which Hitler and his Nazis have instituted in Germany is only the means by which the German people could be regimented in order to accomplish these aims.

In contrast to Hitler, are the Allied aims more lofty? Do they seek to defeat Hitler in order to free Europe? Will their victory bring democracy to the people and independence to the small nations which have been conquered? If the answer to these questions is yes, then why do they not say so openly? Why do they not publish the peace terms they will seek to achieve? Have the workers who have given their support to the British and American governments in the battle against Hitler asked themselves these questions?

DARE NOT STATE AIMS

The American government and the British government dare not state their war aims nor reveal the peace terms they will impose if victorious, because if they did all the world would know that all they seek is to crush Hitler's attempt to take away their markets and break up their own economic domination. They will not free Europe; on the contrary, they will merely take over its control from Hitler. They will not destroy fascism; on the contrary, fascism will have been instituted in both nations long before the end of the war.

The small nations will become the pawns of American-British imperialism instead of the puppets of Germany. *In other words, both camps of imperialist bandits are fighting for exactly the same war aims!*

The propaganda machines of both America and Britain have been very assiduous in turning the attention of the working class to the barbarities of Hitler and Mussolini. They have time and again sidetracked the demands voiced by many to know the war aims of the Allies with the plea that the first job is to defeat the enemy. But despite the official silence, a number of incidents and statements in the past few weeks have given away the truth. Let us see what the "anti-Nazis," the "lovers of freedom," the "upholders of democracy" fight for:

1. SYRIA

In Syria, French rule has found itself in crisis due to the determined struggle of Arab Nationalist elements to secure the independence of Syria. A series of general strikes and other manifestations of discontent have made it clear that French imperialist domination is nearing its end.

In this crisis, the followers of General Charles De Gaulle, "Free French" ally of Great Britain, who broke with Petain and the Vichy government because he charged them with being puppets of Hitler, were faced with a choice: as loyal adherents of French imperialism, could they permit a section of the empire to be torn away? On the other hand as professed believers in "freedom," "democracy" and "independence" should they not rather see Syria liberated than enslaved in the clutches of Hitler's agent?

Without hesitation the De Gaullists made their choice. According to the United Press correspondent in Istanbul, "Free French" sympathizers, it was said, *are throwing their support to the French governing group* in the present Syrian crisis. . . . If Turkey entered the war the 'Free French' group probably would be strong enough to take over control of Syria and in any event the British would almost certainly be obliged to secure their communications from Palestine to Turkey which lie across Syria." (*N. Y. Times*, March 30, 1941.) (Our emphasis.)

In other words, so little do the "Free French" forces care about freedom or democracy that

they will support those whom they denounce as Hitler's stooges in order to preserve the French empire. Not only this; they count upon the support of Great Britain to aid in maintaining their imperialist sway over the Arab natives of Syria. And these people are to be our allies, or vice versa, in a struggle for "democracy"!

2. HALIFAX SPEAKS

Addressing the Women's National Press Club in Washington on April 6th, Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador predicted an Anglo-American alliance after the war to hold Germany in subjection and to maintain "peace" in Europe. Asked if he thought the German people were naturally warlike, and if so, what steps could be taken to curb them after the war, Lord Halifax replied:

"I would not suggest that the German people have more of the old Adam or original sin in them than those of other nations but they do seem to have an unfortunate propensity for following bad leaders. I believe it will be necessary for the Allies now fighting German aggression to organize in some manner after victory is won—as it will be—so that they can exert some influence upon the German people. Surely we must make it plain to them that we cannot have—isn't it a sixth war?—within this span of 100 years."

Translating this diplomatic language into ordinary English, Lord Halifax is saying that America and Britain will combine to crush Germany and to make certain that it does not rise again as it did from the ashes of Versailles. Here is a war aim stated at last, a peace objective! But what a letdown! What about freedom, democracy and independence? Forget it—they are only sucker bait for gullible workers who actually believe that the imperialist leopard can change his spots!

3. WHAT AMERICA FEARS

"Pooh-pooh," the enthusiastic supporter of intervention will cry; "maybe the British government and its 'Free French' supporters are imperialists. But the United States has no imperialist ambitions. All it seeks to do is to halt aggression and beat back fascism." The man who speaks this is guilty of a common error. He has identified himself and the millions of workers and their families who constitute the vast majority of the people with the United States government. The masses, it is quite true, loathe and despise fascism and all its works. Their single idea is to see its defeat

and a peaceful world restored, with freedom and democracy for all.

The United States government, however, is motivated by no such ideals, no matter how many beautiful and stirring speeches President Roosevelt utters. As the champion of the interests of the American capitalist class, the Roosevelt administration is carrying on its war preparations in order to crush the presumptuous German capitalist class which, through Hitler, dares to challenge the domination of the world's markets now maintained by the British Empire and the United States. The real fears of the American ruling class were voiced only a few weeks ago by Colonel William J. Donovan, just returned from Europe where he acted as official observer of the war situation for the President. In Chicago on April 11th, Col. Donovan spoke before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. The following is from a summary of his talk made by the correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune.

"A Nazi victory, he asserted, would undermine American trade, lead to a military threat against the United States from South America and island bases in the Western Hemisphere, and jeopardize the American standard of living and way of life. . . .

"His reasoning involved eight steps, in which he considered both economic and military factors. He said that if Hitler wins the war the whole of Europe will be organized into a single economic and military entity which will:

"Harm the American farmer because it will be agriculturally self-sufficient and have no need for American farm products;

"Harm all American exporters because it will constitute a buyer's monopoly under no obligation to trade with the United States except at its own prices;

"Harm all American business and industry because it will compete in the American market with low-priced goods produced by conscript labor and the cheap labor of subservient conquered groups;

"Deprive American exporters of their best customers, Great Britain and high-standard countries of Europe, by reducing the standard of living of these countries so low that they will turn to the cheap products of Germany and Japan;

"Seize economic control of South America;

"Develop 'bad neighbors' in South America in place of the 'good neighbors' of today and

thus 'present to us naval and military questions of the greatest difficulty';

"Acquire islands in the Western Hemisphere for naval bases.

"On the last point Col. Donovan quoted an address of Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, head of the German Navy, in which the admiral told shipyard workers three months ago that the German fleet would 'carry the German flag together with the German merchant fleet over the space of the globe.'"

NOT WORRIED ABOUT FASCISM

Note this carefully, you workers who think that the United States is entering this war to fight for ideals: in the entire catalogue of dire results which this spokesman for the administration predicts will ensue from a German victory there is not a word about the possibility of the loss of American democracy or the rise of domestic fascism! Either Donovan does not believe there is any danger of such an eventuality, in which case he brands the current slogans of the interventionists as so much hogwash, or he does not consider the loss of democracy anything to get alarmed about! If one considers the steady march toward totalitarianism upon which the administration has embarked the nation since early in 1940, the latter supposition more nearly describes the attitude of Donovan and the capitalist class for which he speaks.

But if we lay aside for the moment the question of what Donovan omitted to say and look at what he did say, then our disillusion is deepened. For Donovan's fears are all for the capitalists and their precious imperialist interests which will be endangered by Germany's competition. Unlike the hypocrites who seek to inveigle the workers into supporting the Allies, Donovan does not even make a pretense that a German victory will mean the destruction of labor. This striking fact does not mean merely that Donovan is not interested in the fate of the workers; on the contrary, it indicates that he is well aware that no matter what the outcome of the war, the working class can expect nothing but defeat at the hands of the victors.

What worries Donovan and those for whom he speaks is the fact that a German victory will mean the extension of German business to those markets where American trade now predominates. At all costs this threat must

be put down.

AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY

But the present conflict is more than a threat to American imperialist interests; it is also an opportunity. With both of its most potent rivals engaged in pouring out their blood, their energies and their money in mutual slaughter, American capitalism for the first time is presented with its chance to win complete economic dominance over all the world's trade, over all its colonies, over all its people.

If only the war can continue long enough to wear down the resources of both contenders, the American imperialists will have little difficulty in asserting their supremacy. That is why aid to Britain is being furnished in quantities barely sufficient to enable the British Empire to maintain its struggle with Hitler's forces, yet short of the amount necessary for victory. Should the British conquer without the aid of American manpower, the exhaustion of their manpower and financial resources will place them under the necessity of depending on American aid to restore their strength. On the other hand, should the German forces conquer, the American capitalist class will then move against them with a fresh and well-equipped fighting force backed by the most powerful industry on earth. There can be no doubt where victory will lie in such a contest.

This, then, is the certain outcome of the Second Imperialist War, if for the moment the possibility of workers' revolution is left out of account: American imperialism emerging triumphant, the dominant power of the world, controlling the lion's share of world trade and imposing its will upon the lesser nations. That the capitalist class recognizes the potentialities of the situation is evidenced by the guarded words of some of its spokesmen. For example, Arthur Sweetzer, former member of the secretariat of the League of Nations, in a talk before the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science a few weeks ago, said that after the present war the United States "will face both one of the gravest responsibilities and one of the greatest opportunities that any nation has ever faced" not only as far as its own national problems are concerned, but "as to what kind of a world will eventually arise from the ashes." He declared that he believed other nations "would gladly give the United States the leading role

in the post-war adjustments if she is prepared to assume it. This would be the case . . . because her resources are steadily increasing as theirs decrease."

The inner secret of America's war aims is thus revealed. She does not seek to defend democracy or to defeat fascism; she plans to use this war as the stepping stone to world supremacy, treading over the fallen bodies of its most powerful rivals, Germany and Britain, in the process.

THE ROLE OF THE WORKERS

In this war, as in the First World War, the working class is cast in the role of cannon fodder for the rival imperialists and as their industrial and agricultural army. No independent move on their own behalf by the workers will be tolerated by either camp. As a matter of fact the grim necessity for waging totalitarian warfare makes it correspondingly essential that the workers be regimented completely in those few countries where this has yet not been done. From this war, therefore, the work-

ing class can expect nothing but death, agony of toil and enslavement, no matter which side emerges victorious.

To such a prospect there is but one alternative. The working class must take matters into its own hands. It must upset the plans of the imperialists by carrying on independent class action in opposition to their aims. The workers must put forward their own aims and aspirations—for a world of peace, plenty and security—in opposition to the imperialist ambitions of their exploiters.

Above all the workers must organize their forces politically and industrially to carry out their aims by abolishing the basis for capitalist wars and fascism—private ownership of the socially-used means of production. By taking the conduct of production and the rule of society into their own hands the working class will ensure for itself and for its descendants a world of cooperation, industry and progress in place of the present world of hostilities, destruction and retrogression.

Who Fights Fascism?

1. America First Committee

Shortly before his death the late Huey Long, gave utterance to what has since proven to be a most accurate prophesy.

"Fascism," said the Louisiana Kingfish, "will come to America some day. But when we get it we won't call it Fascism. We'll call it anti-Fascism."

Today before our very eyes we see Huey Long's prediction being fulfilled with a vengeance.

The so-called America First Committee, the isolationist group which was formed in 1940 to counteract the work of the interventionist Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, is an excellent example of this new technique. Within the past few weeks this group has blossomed forth as a vociferous opponent of fascism.

In a public statement prepared for the New York *Daily News* of May 2, 1941, entitled "Do We Want An American Hitler?" the America First Committee warns against American intervention in the present war on the pretext that

we will thus save democracy. On the face of it this statement is a forthright denunciation of Hitler and Hitlerism. It contains a particularly lucid analysis of the causes of fascism throughout the world, from which we quote:

"There are plenty of Hitlers besides Adolf. There is a Hitler in Germany. There is a Hitler in Italy, another in Russia, another in Spain. There were Hitlers in Greece and Bulgaria, and there are still Hitlers in Roumania and Turkey. They have different names, but they stand for the same thing and are produced by the same forces.

WHAT MAKES FASCISM?

"The things that make Hitlers are poverty, depression, widespread unemployment, distress, fear and despair among the people—workers without jobs, farmers without money, business men without profits—a nation without hope. . . .

"If we go into the war we will add deeper and more terrible trouble. We will pile on debts such as no nation has ever known. We

will produce a business boom for a while, and then plunge down into a depression beside which 1933 will seem like prosperity. More millions than ever will walk the streets and clamor for bread. More farmers will know great poverty. More business men will see hope vanish. Then, amidst all the disorder and chaos and poverty and despair which follow, the time for the American Hitler will come. *And the American Hitler will come.* That is the Hitler we are afraid of—not the Hitler in Germany.”

To the uninitiated worker it would appear that the America First Committee is a genuine and sincere opponent of Fascism. *Nothing could be further from the truth!*

THE NAZI TECHNIQUE

It is not generally remembered that Hitler and his Nazi Party used the most unrestrained demagogy in launching their successful march to power. Although financed and controlled by the most powerful of Germany's economic royalists, Hitler's violent denunciation of the international finance-capitalists and their interest and wage slavery knew no bounds. He and his cohorts did not scruple at stealing and using the established terminology of the Socialist movement to further their own ends. The Nazis went even so far in their demagogy as to organize and lead militant strikes. All this camouflage was necessary in order to hoodwink the workers and bind them to the totalitarian slavery that the Nazis had in store for them.

In mouthing the language of anti-fascism, the America First Committee is following directly in the footsteps of Hitler on the identical path of demagogy and deceit. To gauge the real measure of the genuineness and sincerity of the Committee, it is only necessary to ask: who is financing and supporting its work? For it is those who pay the piper who call the tune!

WHO BACKS AMERICA FIRST?

As a result of considerable pressure, the America First Committee released a partial list of its financial supporters on March 12th. This incomplete roster comprises a cross section of some of the country's blackest reactionaries and industrial autocrats. Among the names published were Ernest T. Weir of National Steel, Edward L. Ryerson, Jr. of Inland Steel, Thomas N. McCarter of Public Service

Co. of New Jersey, Chas. H. Morse of Fairbanks, Morse & Company, Max W. Babb of Allis-Chalmers and many other smaller fry. The list did not include the names of 45 contributors who had requested that their names be withheld. Conspicuously absent were such well-known supporters of the Committee as Henry Ford and Tom Girdler, who, it is a foregone conclusion, are included among the anonymous 45. These are the real powers behind the America First Committee.

What is the record of these doughty warriors against Fascism? Almost without exception they have either been decorated by Hitler or, even if they do not sport Nazi medals, they have been lavish in their praise of the Fascist dictators—Hitler, Mussolini and Franco.

Every one of these “Champions of Democracy” has been a violent opponent of the mild, reformist New Deal of President Roosevelt which sought to subdue the rising tide of working class revolt by throwing a few crumbs to the workers from the heavily-laden tables of American imperialism. To them the miserable New Deal reforms are “communistic.”

These are the gentry who skulk behind the high-sounding name of the America First Committee. These labor-hating exploiters have the gall to talk about saving America from a Hitler and preserving America for Democracy!

It is no accident that Verne Marshall, Chairman of the Nazi-inspired No Foreign Wars Committee (which was revealed to be financially sponsored by Hitler's chief American business agent, Davies) in announcing the dissolution of that group stated that there was no further need for its existence since other organizations are satisfactorily performing the job for which his committee was organized. He referred principally to the America First Committee; and on this subject Mr. Marshall can certainly speak with authority.

Again, it is not by accident that Charles A. Lindbergh, Hitler's most assiduous unpaid American apologist and the white-haired boy of the American appeasers, has publicly been revealed as the chief spokesman of the America First Committee. His prominent position on the Committee is an indication of its real aims.

NOT CONCERNED WITH DEMOCRACY

For can any serious-minded worker believe for a moment that the Weirs, the Girdlers, the

Fords and the rest of their ilk are honestly and sincerely interested in peace because they wish to preserve democracy in America?

The American appeasers are only interested in peace as a means of preserving their own selfish imperialist interests. They are convinced that Hitler's powerful military machine is invincible and that the British Empire is doomed. They feel that American imperialism cannot successfully challenge Hitler's "New Order" and consequently they oppose the war plans of the Roosevelt administration. The American appeasers believe that, rather than challenge Hitler, American imperialism should woo the favor of the Nazi dictator. They are determined to make their peace with Hitler at all costs and thus preserve intact their imperialist privileges in the Western Hemisphere.

Implicit in the appeasement policy of cooperation with Hitler is the parallel policy of totalitarian enslavement for the American working class. In order to compete with the substandard labor of the fascist world, American capitalism will be compelled to regiment its own working class. Lincoln's aphorism that the world cannot exist half free and half slave applies to fascism with doubled force. The American appeasers, now skulking behind the fake anti-fascist facade of the America First Committee, would not hesitate an instant to install the same abominable totalitarianism in order to save their own precious imperialist skins.

The Socialist Union Party warns the American working class against the two-faced America First Committee and the reactionary forces behind it. They, no less than the Roosevelt warmongers, are the deadliest enemies of the working class. When this group joins the hue and cry against fascism it is only playing the old pickpocket game of shouting "Stop Thief!" to divert attention from its own guilt.

WARMONGERS EQUALLY DANGEROUS

In exposing and denouncing the Lindbergh-Weir-Ford-Girdler camp of Hitler appeasement, we by no means have any intention of giving aid or comfort to their capitalist-imperialist rivals who are grouped around the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and who also prate of their alleged opposition to Hitlerism. This crew merely represents the reverse side of the capitalist-imperialist medal.

The interventionist capitalist forces can no more be entrusted with the task of carrying on a principled struggle against fascism than their isolationist brothers. Representing the prevailing sentiment within the capitalist-imperialist ranks, the warmongers believe that they are in a position to challenge successfully the worldwide march of Hitler's "New Order" and they are preparing to do battle with him. But their interest in destroying the Hitler regime springs from a purely selfish imperialist basis. Their one and only concern is the preservation and extension of American imperialist domination of the world's markets. Hitler threatens their power and their prerogatives. That is why this leading section of American imperialism is the enemy of the Hitler regime.

WORKERS MUST ACT

The democratic capitalist order cannot survive the present titanic world struggle. Regardless of which camp emerges victorious, both sides will come out of the war completely exhausted economically and physically. Unless the working class intervenes in this crisis to establish a Socialist world order, a fascist totalitarian order will be inevitable, in the victorious as well as the defeated nations, to preserve the rotten, decaying capitalist-imperialist system from complete social chaos and disintegration.

The task of the working class is clear—independent action on the basis of the class struggle to defeat both camps of imperialism which are working to drive the workers down into the slavery of fascism.

(Continued from Page 2)

BRITISH IMPERIALISM UNMasks

industrialism and enslaving the German nation can American-British Imperialism hope to definitely eliminate the threat of German Imperialism.

The old adage "easier said than done" applies with special force to the task of destroying German Imperialism. The Nazi regime has created the world's most formidable military apparatus. The indomitable courage and determination of the Nazis to carry on to the bitter end, come what may, will only be denied by foolhardy opponents. Industrially, the Nazi regime is second only to the United States. But the United States must concentrate a large share of its war

activities to creating (and keeping afloat by continuous replacements) an enormous bridge of ships across the Atlantic. Although originally lacking in basic war materials, Hitler's feat in overrunning the Continent and placing Russia at his mercy has more than made up for this original shortage. Today, Hitler controls the granaries of Europe and all thoughts of starving out the Nazi regime a la 1914-17 now becomes an empty dream. With all these formidable advantages the Nazi regime is nevertheless not all-powerful. It has been estimated by military experts that providing the British can continue to hold out in their Island fortress for an additional period of ninety days, the superior economy of American-British Imperialism will ultimately triumph. But ultimately here means many years, for Hitler is securely entrenched and can carry out a "defensive" war for a prolonged period. To defeat Hitler and his regime will cost an enormous toll of destruction and devastation, of unprecedented human privation and suffering, "of blood, tears and sweat."

Yet, if American and British Imperialism were really conducting a principled struggle against the barbaric Nazi regime, instead of engaging in a sordid contest for imperialist survival, the Socialist Union Party would not hesitate to unflinchingly support the war to its bitter and terrible end. BUT WE REFUSE TO BECOME A TOOL OF A UNITED AMERICAN AND BRITISH RULING CLASS IN ITS CAMPAIGN TO PRESERVE ITS OWN IMPERIALIST DOMINATION BY DESTROYING AND ENSLAVING THE GERMAN NATION!

The Socialist Union Party holds no brief for the German working class and their wholly reprehensible conduct in supporting the Hitler war regime. In doing so they sin grievously and do violence to the elementary concepts of international working class solidarity. By this support the German workers are giving aid and comfort to their worst enemy and are cutting their own throats. Nevertheless, we can understand their action in spurning the appeals of the British Government and its labor-leader lickspittles. Well may the German workers inquire: Where were the Chamberlains and the Churchills, our newly-found friends, when Hitler was holding bloody, high carnival over a prostrate German working class; when Hitler was extinguishing one by one the lights of civilization in Germany and establishing his bestial Nazi regime on its smoldering ruins? The German workers

have a good memory. They remember, that in their hour of need these very same latter day "sacred crusaders against fascism" were singing praises to the "firmness" and "patriotism" of Hitler. They also remember that it was British money that enabled Hitler to establish his "new order" in Germany and consolidate his power. Well may the German workers inquire: Can the British leopard change his spots? Is the Churchill of today any different from the Churchill of yesterday who lavished encomiums on Hitler. The fact of the matter is that Churchill, more honest than some of his "liberal" and "labor" supporters has not even troubled to make a diplomatic denial of his praises of Hitler's policies in pre-war Nazi Germany. Neither has he renounced his advocacy of a British Hitler in the event of a British defeat.

In the struggle against fascism not only in Germany but internationally, the most powerful weapon available is the solidarity of the international working class including the German workers. The American and British Imperialists cannot possibly hope to marshal this support regardless of how zealously and vociferously they proclaim their "sacred crusade" against Hitlerism. *They themselves* are tarred with the same fascist brush.

There is only one way for the American and British workers to win the support of their German fellow workers in the common struggle against world fascism. They must break with their own capitalist-imperialist governments and proceed to establish a Socialist Republic. As long as the labor movements of Britain and the United States continue to make common cause with their own imperialist governments the workers of these countries share equally with the German workers the guilt of committing the serious crime of violating the elementary principle of international working class solidarity.

Only a Socialist Republic can make an honest and convincing disavowal of imperialist war aims and thereby win the support of the misguided German workers who are wrongly supporting the bestial Nazi regime. Only a Socialist Republic, by itself having pointed the way, can call upon the German working class to overthrow its master.

Only a Socialist Republic can carry on a principled struggle against fascism.

Only a Socialist Republic can assure the defeat of fascism not only in Germany but throughout the world.

BUILD THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC!